

Message Text

SECRET

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1146
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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 CAIRO 16474

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

DEPARTMENT PASS FOR THE ATTENTION OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR EG IS
SUBJECT: GAMASY/WEIZMAN MEETING

REF: ALEXANDRIA 498

1. SUMMARY: FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT IS SUBMITTED AT THE VICE PRESIDENT'S REQUEST ON WHAT MIGHT BE DONE TO CATALYZE A GAMASY/WEIZMAN MEETING. IN REPLY TO WEIZMAN LETTER, GAMASY--ON SADAT'S INSTRUCTIONS--KEPT DOOR AJAR, BUT INSISTED SOME "NEW ELEMENT" IS NEEDED. PROBLEM IS DIFFICULT. JUST AS SADAT'S TWO ALTERNATIVES FOR "NEW ELEMENTS" AS SKETCHED TO THE VICE PRESIDENT ARE PROBABLY UNACCEPTABLE TO ISRAELIS, SO THE BEGIN WEST BANK/GAZA PLAN AND ISRAELI ANSWERS TO OUR QUESTIONS ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE EGYPTIANS. WITH LONDON FONMINS CONFERENCE NOW GENERALLY ACCEPTED, THERE IS ALSO THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A PARALLEL GAMASY/WEIZMAN MEETING IS LIKELY TO BE HELPFUL OR COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. IN THEORY AT LEAST, DAYAN SHOULD BE ABLE TO DISCUSS IN LONDON ANY WEST BANK/GAZA POLITICAL MATTERS THAT WEIZMAN COULD TALK ABOUT.

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ASSUMING THAT WE WISH TO PUSH GAMASY/WEIZMAN MEETING, TWO POSSIBILITIES EXIST AS TO "NEW ELEMENTS". FIRST, WEIZMAN MIGHT SIGNAL SADAT THAT HE HAS SOME "CLARIFICATION" OF ISRAELI ANSWERS THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS (PERHAPS ALONG LINES DAYAN'S EARLIER COMMENTS TO LEWIS); SECOND, WEIZMAN COULD FOCUS HIS REQUEST ON WANTING FURTHER DISCUSSION OF SINAI ARRANGEMENTS (FROM WHICH WEST

BANK/GAZA TALKS COULD ALSO DEVELOP). FINALLY, SHOULD LONDON TALKS HAVE SOME SUCCESS IN POLITICAL AREA, THIRD POSSIBILITY IS A GAMASY/WEIZMAN FOLLOW-ON MEETING TO DISCUSS SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS. END SUMMARY.

2. ON JUNE 27 WEIZMAN WROTE TO GAMASY SUGGESTING ANOTHER MEETING BETWEEN THEM IN A THIRD COUNTRY, IF PREFERRED. (THIS WOULD SEEM TO BELIE THE ISRAELI ASSERTION THAT GAMASY ASKED FOR THE MEETING.) THE ISRAELI SIDE, WEIZMAN INDICATED, WOULD BRING WITH IT THE ISRAELI ANSWER OF JUNE 18 (WHICH WAS QUOTED IN FULL), AND THE IDEAS (UNSPECIFIED) RAISED DURING WEIZMAN'S MARCH 30 DISCUSSION WITH SADAT. WEIZMAN ALSO SUGGESTED TALKS MIGHT FOCUS ON FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF POSITIONS ON STILL OUTSTANDING ISSUES (WHICH IS -RACTICALLY EVERYTHING) AND LAYING THE BASIS FOR A SYSTEM OF CLOSE SECURITY AND ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL. (TEXT OF WEIZMMN LETTER IS GIVEN IN REFTEL.)

3. SADAT, WHO IS AWARE OF WEIZMAN'S POLITICAL WEAKNESS BUT WOULD LIKE TO GIVE HIM A BOOST, INSTRUCTED GAMASY TO REPLY IN A VEIN WHICH LEAVES DOOR AJAR TO SUCH A . MEETING, BUT INSISTS THAT SOME "NEW ELEMENT" IS NEEDED. SINCE THE LAST SADAT/GAMASY/WEIZMAN MEETING DEALT PRIMARILY WITH THE FUTURE OF THE WEST BANK/GAZA, AND THE UNRESOLVED NATURE OF THIS ASPECT OF THE EGYPTIAN/ISRAELI
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PROBLEM IS CURRENTLY THE POINT OF ISSUE, THE NEW ELEMENT WOULD PRESUMABLY HAVE TO DEAL WITH WEST BANK/GAZA MATTERS. ASKED WHAT SUCH A "NEW ELEMENT" MIGHT BE, SADAT TOLD VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE THERE ARE TWO ALTERNATIVES: (A) ISRAELI WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE EGYPTIAN PROPOSAL TO RETURN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA TO JORDAN AND EGYPT RESPECTIVELY, OR (B) A USG PROPOSAL.

4. IN FACT, I BELIEVE A "NEW ELEMENT" COULD BE SOMETHING LESS THAN THE LATEST EGYPTIAN COUNTERPROPOSAL. I BELIEVE IT WOULD SUFFICE TO HAVE SOME KIND OF AN ISRAELI EXPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS IN PRINCIPLE TO WITHDRAW TO THE 67 LINES, PROVIDED THE PARTIES SIT DOWN AND NEGOTIATE PRIII SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WITH ISRAEL, AND A WILLINGNESS IN PRINCIPLE TO SETTLE THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IN ALL OF ITS ASPECTS. IF NONE OF THESE IDEAS IS ACCEPTABLE TO THE ISRAELIS, AS I GATHER IS THE CASE, THE PROBLEM OF FINDING A "NEW ELEMENT" IS MORE DIFFICUL SINCE THE BEGIN PLAN AND THE ISRAELI REPLIES TO OUR TWO QUESTIONS ARE EQUALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO SADAT IN THEIR PRESENT FORM.

5. IN DECIDING THE EXTENT WE SHOULD GO TO PUSH FOR A GAMASY/WEIZMAN MEETING, WE SHOULD FIRST ASK OURSELVES WHETHER SUCH AN EARLY MEETING IS DESIRABLE. WITH THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF FONMINS NOW SCHEDULED FOR JULY 17-19, AT WHICH TIME THE ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN WEST BANK/GAZA PROPOSALS WILL BE DISCUSSED, IT IS A LITTLE DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW A PARALLEL, GENERALLY CONCURRENT GAMASY/WEIZMAN MEETING OFFERS ANY PARTICULAR PROMISE. GIVEN THE POLITICAL RIVALRY BETWEEN WEIZMAN AND DAYAN, IT CAN BE ARGUED THAT AN EARLY, PARALLEL GAMASY/WEIZMAN MEETING

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EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

COULD UNDERCUT THE LONDON MEETING PROSPECTS. ALTHOUGH THEY LIKE WEIZMAN, THE EGYPTIANS SUSPECT THAT HIS LETTER IS AN ISRAELI PLOY TO TRY TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE WORLD THAT DIRECT TALKS ARE AGAIN TAKING PLACE OR, ALTERNATIVELY, TO PLACE THE ONUS FOR REFUSAL ON THE EGYPTIANS. GOE IS ALSO KEENLY AWARE THAT ONE OF WEIZMAN'S MAIN PURPOSES, AT LEAST AS EXPRESSED HERE AT PREVIOUS DIRECT MEETINGS, IS TO PERSUADE SADAT THAT THERE IS NO NEED TO HAVE THE UNITED STATES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. SADAT DOES NOT ACCEPT THIS PROPOSITION AND IS AWARE THAT WEIZMAN IS ON WEST BANK/GAZA MATTERS NO LESS HARDLINE THAN BEGIN IS.

6. ASSUMING, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH A GAMASY/WEIZMAN MEETING MIGHT AT SOME POINT BE USEFUL, ONE POSSIBLE "NEW ELEMENT" MIGHT BE SOME INDICATION BY WEIZMAN THAT HE WISHES TO CLARIFY THE ISRAELI ANSWERS TO OUR TWO QUESTIONS. WEIZMAN MAY HAVE HAD NO CHOICE, BUT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF ATTRACTING THE EGYPTIANS HIS QUOTING THE ISRAELI ANSWER COULD HARDLY BE EXPECTED TO BE APPEALING. THE

UNACCEPTABILITY TO SADAT OF THE ISRAELI ANSWERS HAS BEEN MADE EVEN GREATER BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THE USG AND EVERY OTHER GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD HAS EXPRESSED ITS DISAPPOINTMENT OVER THE ISRAELI RESPONSES. I RECALL
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THAT IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE RESPONSES WERE GIVEN TO US, DAYAN SOUGHT TO EXPLAIN TO SAM LEWIS THAT THEY WERE REALLY SIMILAR TO OUR SUGGESTIONS. I DO NOT KNOW IF DAYAN WAS SIMPLY SPEAKING FOR SELF-SERVING PURPOSES. OR WHETHER THERE IS SOMETHING TO HIS CLAIM. IF IT IS THE LATTER, THIS TYPE OF CLARIFICATION, IF SIGNALLED TO SADAT, MIGHT CONCEIVABLY MAKE SADAT MORE RECEPTIVE. HOW THIS WOULD SIT WITH DAYAN, WHO I GATHER WANTS TO BE THE POLITICAL SPOKESMAN FOR WEST BANK/GAZA DISCUSSIONS AND WHO COULD JUST AS EASILY PRESENT ANY ISRAELI CLARIFICATION AT LONDON FONMINS MEETING, I AM NOT COMPETENT TO JUDGE.

7. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY MIGHT BE IF WEIZMAN WERE TO SUGGEST FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON THE SINAI. THIS IS CLEARLY MORE IN HIS FIELD THAN IS THE WEST BANK/GAZA ISSUE. TO BE SURE, SADAT AND GAMASY SEEM TO BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE GONE AS FAR AS THEY CAN GO IN THEIR EXPLORATORY TALKS ON SINAI MATTERS AND THAT LITTLE MORE CAN BE DONE ON THAT SECTOR UNTIL PRINCIPLES ARE WORKED OUT FOR A WEST BANK/GAZA SETTLEMENT. NEVERTHELESS, A REQUEST FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF SINAI ARRANGEMENTS MIGHT INTEREST THE EGYPTIANS AND COULD OFFER THE OPPORTUNITY FOR WEIZMAN ALSO TO DISCUSS THE SECURITY ASPECTS OF WEST BANK/GAZA ISSUES. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT GAMASY WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO DISCUSS IN DETAIL ANY POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WEST BANK/GAZA.

8. A THIRD POSSIBILITY WOULD BE AS A FOLLOW-UP TO THE LONDON MEETING. ASSUMING THAT SOMETHING POSITIVE COMES OUT OF THAT MEETING ON THE POLITICAL FRONT, A SUBSEQUENT GAMASY/WEIZMAN MEETING WOULD BE LOGICAL TO DISCUSS SECURITY ASPECTS.

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9. SAM LEWIS IS IN A BETTER POSITION TO JUDGE HOW FAR, IF AT ALL, PRIMIN BEGIN WOULD BE WILLING TO GO TO INTRODUCE A MEANINGFUL "NEW ELEMENT" IN ORDER TO ASSIST IN CATALYZING ANOTHER GAMASY/WEIZMAN MEETING. GIVEN

STRAINED RELATIONS BETWEEN BEGIN AND WEIZMAN, I HAVE
WONDERED WHAT PRIMIN BEGIN'S PURPOSE REALLY IS IN
WANTING SUCH A MEETING. EILTS

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